

5. When a man wishes to address a married woman who is⁵⁷⁶ younger than himself he may not venture to do so directly, but must find some third person to be the medium of his communication; it is also not *selon les règles* for a man to touch his younger brother's (or cousin's) wife, or his wife's sister; and women are restricted in the same way as regards their husband's elder brother (or male cousin) or his brother-in-law.

6. All titles such as *mai'a*, *mai'ola*, and *chān'a* cease to be applied after death; and inquiries ignorantly made after one who has recently died are replied to in a subdued tone, thus: *wai edā're* (he or she "was") or *wai ōkolī're* (he or she "is dead"). As little allusion as possible is ever made to deceased persons, especially for the first year or so after their death, during which period they are indicated only by reference to the tree or place where their remains are, or were, deposited; after a while the word *lach'i*, answering to "the late," is prefixed to their defunct countrymen's (and women's) names.¹

Warfare.—1. Reference has already been made to their want of⁷²⁶ true courage or daring, and it has been stated that the Andamanese seldom, if ever, venture to make an attack unless satisfied of their superiority over their foes;² it will, therefore, be hardly necessary to enlarge upon their mode of carrying on hostilities, or to say that they are ignorant of the most elementary rules of warfare.

2. Should a dispute arise between members of different communities in the course of a visit or *jeg*-³ the affair often grows in importance and becomes a tribal question, which may not be settled without more or less serious consequences; those wounded on such occasions generally fare badly unless speedily removed, as they stand great risk of being shot dead or receiving the *coup de grâce* in some other form; they are not, however, in the habit of mutilating the bodies of their victims, save in exceptional cases, where there has been very grave aggravation.

3. The assailants generally approach stealthily upon their enemies, and, though availing themselves of every advantage afforded by the density of the jungle, do not take further precautions or devise stratagems whereby to conceal their trail as they proceed on their way. They wear no breastplate,⁴ nor do

¹ Ex.: "múnshí" *bi'ela* (vide Plate II, fig. 2), whose corpse was placed on a machán beside a tree called *yel*, was spoken of as *yel lá-ká-táng len tegi yá'te* (he who is by the *yel*-tree); had he been buried he would have been referred to as *yel lá-ká-táng len bú'guk yá'te*.

² Vide ante "Psychology and Morals," paragraph 2.

³ Vide post "Games and Amusements," paragraphs 22-37.

⁴ The *jār-ara* have been found to wear a wide belt of bark as a protection in hostile encounters.

726 they use shields,¹ and the idea of throwing up earth-banks, or constructing any species of defence for the better protection of their numerous encampments, does not seem to have occurred to them.²

4. Night attacks have been made now and again, but the favourite time is the break of day, when the unsuspecting enemy are sound asleep; or at a late hour when they are likely to be engaged in the preparation or consumption of their evening meal.

727 5. Women and children incur a like risk with men on these occasions, but it would not be considered a matter for boasting should any of them fall victims in the strife, while a child which might be captured uninjured would meet with kindly treatment, in the hope of his (or her) being induced ultimately to become a member of the captor's tribe.

6. The property of the vanquished is of course treated with little ceremony: everything portable is appropriated, and all else is injured or destroyed.

224 7. No confirmatory evidence is required to prove the truth of a statement declaring a man to have slain one or more foes, but if, in hunting, he should kill at a distance from home an animal too heavy for him to carry back unassisted, he would cut off the tail or some other portion which would afford ocular demonstration of its size, and serve as an inducement to his friends to assist him in bringing in the carcass.

Hunting and Fishing.—1. As I stated in an earlier section, the Andamanese are, for the most part, keen huntsmen, and their eagerness in the chase is one of the chief hindrances in the way of their becoming agriculturists, for a great portion of their time being thus spent, the sites of their temporary (as of their permanent) encampments are to a great extent determined by the advantages which they offer for the pursuit of their favourite pastime.

2. There do not appear to be any omens or superstitions in this connection, nor are there special ceremonies observed previous to the start or on the return of the party, save the somewhat peculiar custom, to which I have elsewhere alluded, of maintaining a glum silence for some time at the close of the day's sport.³

¹ Their sounding or stamping boards (*pū-kūta-ue-m'nga*), used in their dances, have, in consequence of their resemblance to shields, been mistaken by more than one visitor as such.

² For the weapons used in warfare, *vide post* "Hunting," paragraph 6.

³ *Vide Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. xi, p. 287. It may here be added that the only explanation which they offer to account for this practice is that they intend thereby to convey to their friends an exaggerated notion of the fatigues they have endured for the general weal.

●726 **Fighting Capacity.**—The Andamanese are bad fighters and never attack unless certain of success. During hostilities they never take any precautions as to their own safety by sentries, works, armour, or uses of any kind, nor in the attack beyond taking advantage of cover. The only ideas of protection yet met with are among the Jarawas, who use trunk-armour consisting of a wide belt of bark and well devised sentry stations on the paths round their permanent communal huts.

619 **The Hostile Tribe of Jarawas.**—The Jarawas and some Onges kill every stranger at sight, but the Jarawas only are in these days entirely hostile, and on the whole the Onges are friendly, the friendliness dating from the capture and subsequent judicious treatment of 24 men, women and children on the Cinque Islands in January 1885. The only positively dangerous people are thus the Jarawas, and this is to be accounted for in this way. The ancient (as proved by old separate kitchen-middens) incursion from the Little Andaman through Rutland Island of that section of the Onge tribe, which is now known as the Jarawas, into the South Andaman set up an implacable tribal hostility between them and the Beas, its other occupants, which has been extended to the foreign settlers in Port Blair, and has nowadays become an undying distrust of all strangers and an hereditary hostility towards them.

But Colebrooke, reporting in 1790, gives a vocabulary of a people, now identified with the Onge-Jarawa tribe by its speech, and as theories have been built up on this fact, it is as well to see carefully when and where Colebrooke met the natives and who they were.

175 **Colebrooke's Knowledge of them (1789).**—Colebrooke left Diamond Island (Cape Negrais) on December 20th, 1789, and reached Port Cornwallis (now Port Blair) on December 23rd. On the 21st he went up the harbour and saw some natives (Jarawa Tribe) on Dundas Point. On the 26th he went up the harbour with Commodore Cornwallis (brother of the Governor-General), accompanied by a native who had been wounded in a skirmish with his tribe, found to be very hostile by the people of the snow *Fifer*, and was kept on board the *Ranger*, Cornwallis's ship. He is described as "very cheerful and quite reconciled to his captivity." They went up the Bumliton Creek as far as Bumliton and met another native (Jarawa) who ran away. They dined (lunched) on "Mount Pleasant," a hill on the harbour near Viper Island, and met another Jarawa who exchanged his bow and arrows for a knife. On the 27th the wounded native, who had been on the *Ranger* three weeks, was put ashore by the Commodore, who uniformly treated the savages with extreme consideration. On the 28th they met the Jarawa on Dundas Point whom they had seen before, with a woman and a girl and found him again friendly. On the 29th there was trouble with the Beas Tribe at Phoenix Bay and with the Jarawas at Ariel Creek.

Colebrooke then went to the Nicobars and returned to Port Blair on February 20th, 1790, starting up north on 21st February. On the 23rd March at Port Meadows he saw some of the Beas Tribe leaving Entrance Island and saw some more hostile Beas, whom the party frightened off, coming from the North. On the 26th he went to the Archipelago, and met some hostile Belawas. On the 27th he went into Colebrooke Passage and saw some Bojigrah huts and some more of the tribe, who ran away in Elphinstone Harbour on the 29th. On the 30th they met some hostile Kois in the east entrance to Homfray's Strait and some more on the 31st off the north end of Long Island. On the 3rd and 4th April they found the Yere Tribe in Stewart Sound extremely hostile. On the 6th Blair himself met some Koras at the foot of Saddle Peak, who ran away. On the 7th Blair discovered the present Port Cornwallis and Colebrooke left for India.

It is clear from this that the only native from whom Colebrooke could have procured his *Vocabulary* was the wounded man on the *Ranger* and that man, as the *Vocabulary* shows, was a Jarawa. The tribes of all sorts—Jarawa, Beas, Bojigrah, Balawa, Kol, Yere, Kora, whom Colebrooke met, except in the case of one Jarawa and his family, exhibited either extreme fear or hostility.

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101 **Explanation of the name Mincopie for the Andamanese.**—The first word in Colebrooke's *Vocabulary*, the first ever made of any Andaman tongue, is Mincopie for "Andaman Island or native country," whence Mincopie has

123 painted with red ochre. It was perhaps left there for drying. The Jarawa would
411 surely have returned just for this bow!

It was a straight piece of wood tapering at both ends. The outer surface was convex and was painted red, while the inner one was straight and smooth, and showed criss-cross designs and indentations. We then went to look for a spring and found it at some distance behind a steep rock but there was no water then. It appeared that the Jarawa had left this camp some time ago.

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[312] We then left Spike Island and sailed for Yeratia Jig. Here an old kitchen midden was known to be another Jarawa haunt. No Jarawa was found even there, however. The kitchen midden was a mound strewn all over with animal bones. Fragments of typical Andamanese pottery and a blue stone bead were discovered there.

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[721] In recent years the Jarawa raids have been rather more frequent. GUPTA (1955) has given a list of them in his report on these people. It is believed that the primary cause of the restlessness of the Jarawa is the shortage of game and other food material². On the other hand the tribe appears to have been sufficiently provoked by the punitive expeditions. All the Jarawa villages that the punitive party came upon were burnt down. In the encounter of March 1911 a woman was captured alive and nobody knows what happened to her afterwards. The pregnant woman captured along with four children in 1908 off Bluff Island later on gave birth to a boy (SARKAR, 1952, PL IX, fig. 3) at Port Blair but it was difficult to tame her. After her delivery she attempted to swim away and was rescued from the sea. She would spend hours climbing a coconut tree. Her whereabouts were unknown during the Japanese occupation of the Andaman Islands during the last war. The young children were sent to the Mission at Car Nicobar, where the present writer studied them in 1948. One of them had died before.

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[714] On the other hand the Jarawa raids, according to the then executive government officers, are also very brutal. Before they go out for a raid the Jarawa cover their chests with bark armour and paint their faces with patterns of white clay. The bark armour is stitched securely on the body by other persons and can only be removed by cutting off the stitches. These people are in the habit of mutilating their victims. They take out their brains, their eyes, and their bodies are hacked all over. - The type of arrow they use is almost a spear, as may be seen from fig. 4. This arrow was obtained by the present writer from the forest department officers of Long Island in 1951. It was used injuring a bush police officer of the night picket unit at Lakera Lunta in January of that year. The police, in return, shot one Jarawa dead.
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[141] The male nurse of the Long Island Hospital took the following body measurements of this dead man:

Height ... 5 feet 1 inch
Chest ... 36 inches

Fig. 4

² They have of late been reported from about the region of Bomlungta, Rangat Bay, etc. on the east coast of Middle Andaman. (The spelling "Ronga Bay" on the map is incorrect.)



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Right arm ... 2 feet 4 inches
Right index finger ... 4 inches
Right toe ... 2 inches
Length of right leg ... 2 feet 11 inches
Length of right foot ... 9 1/2 inches

726 The iron blade of the arrowhead is 17 cm long and 4.9 cm broad at the base.
411 It is mounted on a wooden shaft 86.7 cm long. The barb at the base consists
177 of an ordinary iron nail which is bent at its sharp end and fixed with bark
threads impregnated with resin. It must have been obtained from a forest
camp during some raid.

726 According to GUPTA (1955) the above mentioned incident was not a
114 premeditated raid. He thinks - after a careful inquiry into the above incident -
that the Jarawa "came out in the open, early in the morning and walked
right into the camp and did not attempt to shoot, [which] would warrant a
presumption that they meant a friendly visit".

648 Since the last few years the Andaman Government has not encouraged
any punitive expedition among the Jarawa. This is also evident from one of the
Senior Officer's opinion quoted above. The forest workers, on the other hand,
still have to face the Jarawa. They think that since no punitive action is taken
against them they are gradually getting bolder. It is reported that the Jarawa
beat the trunks of trees within their hearing. Consequently all these buttress
beatings are immediately reported to the higher authorities and armed guards
protecting the forest workers are alerted. If that is the case then the Jarawa
do not attack without a warning! But who knows what they really mean?
Do they want to communicate with us? Or is it a means of communication
among themselves?

The Jarawa Problem

648 It has already been hinted at the problem of taming the Jarawa. It was
114 one of the special aims of the Government of India to arrange a substation
of its Department of Anthropology. As a result of this the present writer
visited the Andaman Islands twice and was of the opinion that the substation
of the Department of Anthropology should be stationed at Long Island and
not at Port Blair. There were no express plans but to carry out anthropological
studies of the aborigines of the various islands. It has not yet been possible
to census the friendly Onge properly (SARKAR, 1960).

000 The primary desideratum appears to be a knowledge of the native
language. As far as the present writer knows, there is no one in the various
Government departments who is acquainted with the Andamanese language,
not to mention the other languages spoken on the various islands. The Onge

* A Jarawa vocabulary was collected from the captive pregnant Jarawa woman
by Mrs. CHENGAPPA and Mrs. CHAUDHURI, and it has been published by the Andaman
Government.